

# PEKING REVIEW

37

September 12, 1975

北  
京  
周  
報

## **Unfold Criticism of "Water Margin"**

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial calling for criticism and discussion of the novel in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction

## **Warm Farewell to Distinguished Cambodian Guests Returning Home**

## ***Speech by Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Li Chiang***

— At 7th Special Session of U.N. General Assembly

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## Warm Farewell to Distinguished Cambodian Guests Returning Home

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; Samdech Penn Nouth, Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the N.U.F.C. and Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth left Peking by air on September '9 to return to their country in glory. Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C. and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, also left for home on the same plane.

Kang Ke-ching went to the Guest House to bid them farewell.

Present at the airport were Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, Vice-Premier of the Lao Provisional National Union Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and his wife, and Tiao Souk Vongsack, Member of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front and Minister of Information, Propaganda and Tourism of the Lao Provisional National Union Government.

Peking was permeated with an atmosphere of jubilation. The Tien An Men rostrum was bedecked with

Madame Sihanouk, Prime Minister and Madame Penn Nouth and Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, accompanied by Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao and Li Hsien-nien respectively, arrived in open limousines. When thousands of balloons were sent aloft, the square resounded with cheers and shouts of slogans. Overjoyed, the people warmly congratulated the Cambodian people on their victory and the return home in glory of the distinguished guests. A grand send-off ceremony took place at the airport.

Chinese Party and state leaders had a cordial and friendly meeting on September '6 with leaders of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

Present at the meeting on the Chinese side were Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Ulanfu, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Wang Chen and Ku Mu.

Among those present at the meeting on the Cambodian side were Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth, and Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping gave a grand farewell banquet the same day in the name of Premier Chou En-lai. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Premier Chou En-lai and the Chinese Government and people, he extended hearty congratulations and bid a cordial farewell to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the other distinguished Cambodian guests. Both the Vice-Premier and Samdech Siha-



Distinguished Cambodian guests receive a warm send-off in Tien An Men Square.

Chinese leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Chang Chun-chiao, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lien, Wu Teh, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Tan Chen-lin, as well as tens of thousands of people in the capital, expressing fraternal and cordial sentiments for the heroic Cambodian people, gathered in Tien An Men Square and at the airport to give them a rousing send-off. Madame Teng Ying-chao and Madame

red lanterns. Red flags fluttered over the main streets. From tall buildings trailed huge streamers inscribed with the slogans: "Long live the great victory of the national-liberation war of the Cambodian people!" and "Long live the great friendship and militant unity of the Chinese and Cambodian peoples!" Tien An Men Square rang with sounds of drums and gongs as Samdech and

nouk spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 8 and 9.)

Samdech Sihanouk gave a grand banquet in honour of Chinese leaders on September 8. He and Vice-Premier Teng spoke at the banquet.

Samdech Sihanouk expressed his friendly sentiments for China and spoke of Cambodia's domestic tasks and foreign policy. He said: "To win the war against the U.S. imperialist aggressors is surely an extremely important stage in the revolutionary course of the people of Kampuchea.

"The second stage in the march of our revolution is the consolidation of the people's power, the realization of a truly people's democracy turning our society into a society with only one class, the building up of a powerful and independent national economy by mainly relying on our own strength, resources, work and sacrifices and the defence of our independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment.

"To ensure complete success in this second stage, we ought, both now and in future, to maintain high vigilance and unceasingly reinforce national union."

"Kampuchea," he added, "considers that it is and will be its duty always to give full support to and vigorously fight by the side of fraternal countries and peoples who are still victims of the imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists, Zionists, racists and other forces of evil.

"Kampuchea fervently wishes the prompt return of Taiwan to the bosom of her motherland, the People's Republic of China, and demands that the United Nations and the U.S.A. cease their military occupation of south Korea, that all non-Korean troops withdraw from the country without delay, and that the Korean people be allowed to reunify their dear country in full independence and in peace.

"Kampuchea pledges its unconditional and unfailing support to the struggle of the fraternal Palestinian

people to recover all their rights usurped by the Israeli Zionists, the struggle of the Arab brothers, some of whose territories are still occupied by the Israeli Zionists, the struggle of the African brothers in southern Africa against the oppression and injustices of the white racists, the struggle of all other peoples who are still victims of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the struggle of the third world for its economic independence and for the achievement of its legitimate objectives in the economic exchanges with the so-called 'developed' or 'rich' countries."

He stressed that "Kampuchea serves and will serve sincerely the cause of world peace."

Samdech Sihanouk continued: "Kampuchea considers it the duty of the third world peoples and the non-aligned peoples to ever increase their solidarity and fight with greater firmness and determination for the creation of true conditions for peace between nations.

"In this regard, Kampuchea warmly congratulates and thanks the P.R.C. which has all along unfailingly stood by small, weak and poor countries and oppressed, exploited or menaced peoples and will fight to the end with them to realize together a future of peace and prosperity in freedom for all and equality among all."

In his speech, Vice-Premier Teng said: "In the last five years and more, Cambodia has undergone earth-shaking changes. She has achieved complete liberation and national independence, and her revolutionary struggle has been pushed to a new historical stage. At present, the Cambodian people are advancing valiantly in their struggle to build a truly democratic new Cambodia. In this excellent situation of victory, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk, Prime Minister Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth are returning to their country accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan. The earnest desire of Samdech Sihanouk

and Samdech Penn Nouth to return to their beloved motherland, rejoin their compatriots and build the homeland together with them will soon come true. This is a major event calling for our rejoicing and celebration. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to extend our warm and sincere congratulations. We firmly believe that Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth, after returning home, will make still greater contributions to building a truly democratic new Cambodia.

"We are deeply moved by the warm words of praise and thanks in regard to China, which Samdech Norodom Sihanouk spoke just now. We regard them as an encouragement and support to the Chinese people. We consider that the Cambodian people's great victory has been won mainly through their own efforts and that it is a powerful support to the Chinese people. Just as Chairman Mao Tsetung has pointed out recently, it is not the Chinese people who have given assistance to the Cambodian people, but the Cambodian people who have supported the Chinese people. In the common struggle ahead, we are determined to unite still more closely with the fraternal Cambodian people in mutual support and advance shoulder to shoulder with them.

"Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth are close friends of the Chinese people who have always had great admiration for their noble patriotic stand and their militant spirit in upholding justice and defying brute force. During the five years and more, when they lived and carried on the struggle here in China, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth have forged a profound friendship with the Chinese people and made great contributions towards promoting the traditional friendship between China and Cambodia and between their peoples."

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Teng requested the distinguished Cambodian guests to convey the Chinese people's warm greetings and high



salute to the fraternal Cambodian people.

### Romanian Party and Government Delegation

Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, on September 7 met in a hospital with Ilie Verdet, leader of the Romanian Party and Government Delegation, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, and other members of the delegation.

victories in socialist construction and in the struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

He said: Both China and Romania are developing socialist countries. We have always encouraged and supported each other in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and hegemonism and to build socialism. We are convinced that the delegation's current visit will certainly make new contributions to strengthening the friendly relations between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Romania.

Speaking at the banquet about the comradesly relations between the Romanian and Chinese Parties, the two countries and the two peoples, Comrade Verdet said: The Romanian Party, Government and people highly evaluate the development of friendship between Romania and China. The people of Romania are overjoyed at what the Chinese people have achieved by their creative efforts.

Dwelling on the current international situation, he pointed out that the great victories of the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos convincingly

prove that no force in the world can subjugate a people who are determined to defend themselves and become masters of their own destiny.

### Korean National Day Celebrated

Hyun Jun Keuk, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China, and his wife gave a reception on September 9 to mark

the 27th anniversary of the founding of the D.P.R.K.

Among those attending the reception were Li Hsien-nien and Chi Teng-kuei, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Keng Piao, Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and Liang Pi-yeh, Deputy Director of the P.L.A. General Political Department.

The Korean Pyongyang Acrobatic Troupe led by Chang Chun Sop, Vice-Minister of Culture and Art, was present at the reception.

Ambassador Hyun Jun Keuk and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua toasted the constant strengthening and development of the blood-cemented great friendship and militant unity of the Chinese and Korean people.

### Chinese Party and Government Delegation Ends Viet Nam Visit

After participating in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation returned to Peking on September 5. The leader of the delegation was Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council.

While in Viet Nam, the delegation called at Thai Nguyen, capital of the Viet Bac Autonomous Region, and visited the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Complex. Local leading comrades and inhabitants gave it a warm welcome.

The workers and staff of the complex held a big ceremonious



Comrade Chou En-lai meets Comrade Ilie Verdet.

The delegation arrived in Peking on September 5. Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council, and other Chinese comrades had a talk with Ilie Verdet and other Romanian comrades during their visit to China.

In his speech at the banquet welcoming the Romanian comrades, Comrade Chi Teng-kuei praised the Romanian people for their important

meeting in honour of the delegation. Acting Manager Trinh Dinh Lang recalled at the rally the success achieved by the Vietnamese and Chinese comrades-in-arms working shoulder to shoulder in building the complex. He was firmly convinced that "the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Complex will always be a flourishing flower of Viet Nam-China friendship."

Addressing the rally, Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien warmly greeted the brilliant victories of the fraternal Vietnamese people.

Speaking of the international situation, the Vice-Premier said: "The world situation today is developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world. The various basic contradictions in the world are all further sharpening. The manifestation of the exacerbation of these contradictions is a 'great upheaval on earth.' Meanwhile, the revolutionary struggles of the people of all lands are advancing triumphantly. The people of the three Indochinese countries have won great victories in their wars against U.S. aggression and for national salvation after protracted heroic fighting. The people of the Southeast Asian countries have made new progress in their struggle against superpower intervention and to safeguard national independence and sovereignty. The struggles of the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries to win national liberation, defend state sovereignty and national economic rights and interests are surging forward daily. The third world is increasingly awakening and growing in strength. It is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs as the main force in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonic struggle. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this is an irresistible trend of history.

"At the same time, we must take notice of the fact that superpower contention for world hegemony is getting fiercer and the factors for war are increasing. A fierce arma-

ment race is going on between the superpowers, each possessing huge quantities of nuclear weapons, stationing large numbers of troops in foreign countries and occupying all kinds of military bases overseas. As Lenin pointed out: 'An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.' The focus of their contention is in Europe and the Middle East, and, at the same time, they also are contending in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They try to include, whenever possible, other countries in their own spheres of influence, thereby interfering in the internal affairs of these countries, encroaching on their independence and sovereign integrity and increasing the danger of a new world war. One can see more clearly now that the rivalry between the superpowers is the root cause of the intranquillity in the world today and that they are the source of a new world war. Their contention has aroused strong opposition among the countries and peoples of the third world, and is also being resisted by the developed countries and their people lying between the superpowers and the third world countries. Therefore, the wild ambitions of the superpowers for world domination will never succeed. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the world belongs to the people and its future is infinitely bright.

"China is a developing socialist country belonging to the third world. Following Chairman Mao's teaching of never seeking hegemony, we will never be a superpower. We firmly oppose aggression, intervention, control, subversion and plunder of other countries by any superpower. We stand firm with the third world countries and the people of the whole world and unite with all international forces that can be united to carry the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism through to the end."

Comrade Chen Hsi-lien then dwelt on China's domestic situation. He said: "Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the

Party's Central Committee, the Chinese people are advancing in big strides in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country has won great victories, destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao and smashed their plots for capitalist restoration. In the light of the special feature that the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao originates from the reactionary thinking of Confucius and Mencius, the Chinese people also unfolded the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius extensively and in depth and further consolidated and developed the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: 'Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.' Following this important directive by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have started a mass movement to study in depth the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a big event in combating and preventing revisionism in our country and an important measure that ensures our country's continuous advance along the road of Marxism-Leninism."

Comrade Chen Hsi-lien said: "Full of confidence, the Chinese people are grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war and making efforts to carry out the magnificent goal set forth by the Tenth National Congress of our Party and the Fourth National People's Congress."

In conclusion, he said: "China and Viet Nam are friendly neighbours sharing the same mountains and rivers. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are close comrades-in-arms and brothers. For nearly half a century, our two Parties and peoples have shared weal and woe, sympathized with and supported each

(Continued on p. 30.)

# Unfold Criticism of "Water Margin"

"Renmin Ribao" editorial

IN accordance with an instruction from our great leader Chairman Mao, this newspaper and other journals have begun criticism and discussion of the novel *Water Margin*.

This is another struggle of great importance on our country's political and ideological front and is a component part in the implementation of Chairman Mao's important directives on studying theory and combating and preventing revisionism; it will give a powerful impetus to deepening the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is hoped that the vast number of workers, peasants and soldiers who form the backbone force in theoretical study, professional theoretical workers, cadres and the masses will take an active part in the discussion.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "The merit of the book *Water Margin* lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all the people recognize capitulationists." He also added: "*Water Margin* is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai from the 108 people. Sung Chiang pushes capitulationism, practises revisionism, changes Chao's Chu Yi Hall to Chung Yi Hall, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class. As soon as he surrenders, Sung Chiang goes to fight Fang La." [See notes on next page. — Tr.]

This teaching by Chairman Mao penetratingly exposes the essence of *Water Margin* in preaching a capitulationist line and brings to light the true features of Sung Chiang who practises revisionism and capitulationism. In *Water Margin* Sung Chiang is a member of the landlord class. He worms his way into the ranks of the peasants who have risen in uprising, usurps the leadership of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army, pushes a capitulationist line — "simply waiting for an offer of amnesty and enlistment from the imperial court" — and eventually becomes a vermin undermining the peasant revolution and a faithful lackey of the feudal dynasty. The authors of *Water Margin* did their best to prettify and extol Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. This book *Water Margin* is indeed rare teaching material by negative example.

Since the book came out, there always have been different opinions about its main tendency. At one time after liberation, it was lauded by some people as "an immortal epic of peasant revolution"; they even

went so far as to ascribe Sung Chiang's capitulationist line, which represents the interests of the landlord class, to the irreproachable "limitations of the peasantry," and they described their viewpoint as "historical materialist viewpoint." In fact, just as Chairman Mao has pointed out, Lu Hsun [(1881-1936), a great revolutionary, thinker and writer — Tr.] said long ago that "*Water Margin* makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment when the government troops arrived and set out to fight other brigands for the state — brigands who did not 'enforce justice on behalf of heaven.' They were lackeys after all." To call the capitulationist Sung Chiang a revolutionary, to extol his revisionism and describe such praise as "historical materialism," and to confound his capitulationist line with the line of persevering in peasant uprisings — these are important questions; is it not necessary for us to thoroughly thrash them out?

To study and understand Chairman Mao's instructions and unfold the criticism and discussion of *Water Margin* are of great and profound significance not only to the study of classic literature, but also to literature, philosophy, history, education and other fields and to our Party and people in upholding Marxism and combating revisionism and adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line both now and in the future and both in this century and the next. We need to draw lessons from *Water Margin*, that teaching material by negative example, sum up historical experience, learn how to distinguish in complicated struggles a correct line from an erroneous one and know what capitulationists are like. The history of our Party over the last 50 years or so proves that whoever practises revisionism practises capitulationism — class capitulationism in home affairs and national capitulationism in foreign affairs. This was the case with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao — both capitulated to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. At present, our country is in an important period of historical development. We must adhere to the Party's basic line and policies, and we must uphold the principles advanced by Chairman Mao — "**Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire,**" unite with all the forces that can be united with, criticize revisionism and push the socialist revolution and construction forward.

Through the criticism and discussion of *Water Margin*, let us conscientiously study the Marxist theory, continue to criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and carry through to the end the strug-



gle in the superstructure in which the proletariat triumphs over the bourgeoisie and Marxism over revisionism!

(September 4)

#### Translator's notes:

1. *Water Margin*: a Chinese novel, describing a peasant war towards the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.), that has been circulated for several hundred years.
2. Chao Kai: founder of the insurgent peasant army in the novel.

3. The 108 people: the 108 captains of the peasant insurgents.

4. Sung Chiang: a main character in the novel who has usurped the leadership of the insurgent peasant army.

5. Chu Yi Hall and Chung Yi Hall: the assembly hall where the peasant insurgents in the novel meet to discuss matters. What Chao Kai meant by *chu yi* was to unite and rise in revolt; what Sung Chiang meant by *chung yi* was to be loyal to the emperor.

6. Kao Chiu: a corrupt official in the novel and a faithful lackey of the emperor.

7. Fang La: leader of another insurgent peasant army.

### At Farewell Banquet Honouring Distinguished Cambodian Guests

## Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

**S**AMDECH Norodom Sihanouk is an outstanding patriot of Cambodia. In March 1970, when the very existence of the Cambodian nation was in peril, he took a clear-cut patriotic stand and solemnly issued the Five-Point Declaration, which expressed the Cambodian people's firm determination to fight against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, the traitorous Lon Nol clique. To save their country, the Cambodian people, guided by the correct line of independence, self-reliance and people's war, rallied closely around the National United Front of Cambodia with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as its Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan its Deputy Prime Minister, and waged a sublime and heroic revolutionary war of people's national liberation. After fighting most arduously and dauntlessly for five years and one month, they finally liberated the whole of their country, thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the traitorous Lon Nol clique and completely drove U.S. imperialism out of Cambodia. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's solemn declaration of March 23, 1970 has now become a triumphant reality. A vigorous new Cambodia has risen majestically in East Asia.

The Cambodian people's great victory is a remarkable example showing that a small nation can defeat a big and a weak nation can defeat a strong; it is another one in the series of great historic events since World War II. It sets a brilliant example and provides new experience for the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggles.

In the years when the Cambodian people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against domestic

and foreign enemies, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth, imbued with noble patriotism, stood together with the people in the common fight. In the spring of 1973, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, braving fatigue, hardship and danger, made a long journey to return to their motherland amidst the flames of war and were warmly welcomed by the leaders in the interior and the patriotic army men and people. Over the last five years, as successive victories were being won on the battlefields at home, Samdech Sihanouk carried on with full vigour a great deal of diplomatic activities on the international arena, publicizing to the people of the world the just cause of the Cambodian people and the splendid exploits of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation and exposing the heinous crimes of U.S. imperialism and the traitorous Lon Nol clique. This has won extensive sympathy and support among the people of all countries, the third world countries in particular. Samdech Penn Nouth, too, carried on many activities and did a lot of work. They have both made positive contributions to the complete victory of the Cambodian people's fight for national salvation.

A thriving scene now prevails throughout new Cambodia. The Cambodian people are advancing in big strides along the road of revolution and of building a new life. In this excellent situation, Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan has come personally to accompany Samdech and Madame Sihanouk and Samdech and Madame Penn Nouth on their return in glory. This is a most auspicious event. We sincerely wish that Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth, after their return home, will continue, together with the Cambodian people, to make greater contributions to further promoting the great national unity and building



an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign and non-aligned Cambodia with territorial integrity.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth are old friends of the Chinese people. For a long time they have worked unremittingly to cement and develop the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples. During their stay in China, they visited many parts of our country, made extensive contacts with our people and showed deep friendship for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to take this opportunity to extend our sincerest thanks to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth.

China and Cambodia are very cordial and friendly neighbours, and our two peoples are comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. The great victory of the Cambodian people's revolutionary war of national liberation is a great inspiration and support to the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. Hereafter, in the new historical period, the Chinese people will, as always, stand together with the Cambodian people and firmly support their just cause. We believe that the profound revolutionary friendship of the Chinese and Cambodian peoples forged in the common struggle will grow stronger and develop steadily.

## Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's Speech

(Excerpts)

SAMDECH Penn Nouth and myself heartily thank His Excellency respected Premier Chou En-lai and the Government of the People's Republic of China for kindly organizing this grand and magnificent banquet to wish us and other personages of N.U.F.K. and R.G.N.U.K. a happy return to our beloved country Kampuchea after having fulfilled our patriotic mission abroad, relying on the glorious People's Republic of China as our great and invincible "rear area."

His Excellency the most respected Chairman Mao, in the recent unforgettable meeting he most kindly and amiably had with us, Samdech Penn Nouth, Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan and myself, once again asked me not to place emphasis on what the People's Republic of China and her people, Party, Government and the Chairman had done for Kampuchea and her people who had to fight for national salvation.

Chairman Mao asked me not to thank China. He said to me and pointed out emphatically that it was for China to thank Kampuchea and her people whose heroic struggle and tremendous sacrifice rendered inestimable services to China, to the third world and to all peoples of the world.

Tonight, I am in a great dilemma, as on the one hand I have too much respect for Chairman Mao to allow myself to do the contrary of what he wishes, and on the other hand I cannot keep silent about the profound and sincere sentiments of all the patriots, the entire national resistance movement and all the people of Kampuchea for the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people and Chairman Mao — sentiments of infinite and inextinguishable gratitude, respect and admiration.

The friendship, the loyalty in friendship, the anti-imperialist solidarity and the attachment of People's

China to the ideals of justice, peace and freedom are exemplary.

As a popular saying goes, "It is only in misfortune that one can distinguish between true friends and false friends."

The U.S. aggression, an extremely barbarous and vile aggression, accompanied by infernal acts of neo-colonization and, above all, of genocide carried on for over five years against Kampuchea allowed us to see, in this world where materialism and opportunism play no negligible role, which countries are true champions of justice, authentically internationalist and anti-imperialist and which are not.

Such a clear vision of the world enabled us to appreciate the true value — which is inestimable — of the friendship, solidarity and incomparable assistance and support of the People's Republic of China and to measure the full significance of the deeds — oh, how noble! — of some 30 states and governments which, from the beginning of our struggle, stretched out their fraternal hands to N.U.F.K., P.A.F.N.L.K. and R.G.N.U.K. whose "inevitable defeat" in the face of the so-called "invincible" U.S. imperialism was predicted by so many formerly "friendly" powers.

Without consideration of self-interest and acting in strict respect for the principles of internationalism, equity and anti-imperialist solidarity, the P.R.C. never grudged us her effective support (total and multiform) — a support which Chairman Mao, in the name of the Chinese people, asked Premier Chou En-lai to express by word of mouth to Samdech Penn Nouth and myself on our arrival at Peking Airport on the morning of March 19, 1970.

This illustrates better than heaps of words the unparalleled nobleness of this pure friendship that unites and will for ever unite our two countries, our two peoples, our two nations, our two states and our two governments.

The five years and five months spent in People's China and in the context of our common struggle against imperialism were five years and five months extremely enriching for us. Their magnificent memory will for ever remain vivid in our heart and spirit.

## Wishing the Korean People Still Greater Victories

TODAY is the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Cherishing revolutionary friendship, the Chinese people celebrate this glorious festival together with the fraternal Korean people, and extend to them our warmest congratulations and loftiest regards.

The Korean people are a heroic people. The founding of the D.P.R.K. is their great achievement resulting from protracted revolutionary struggle. Under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, they have traversed a brilliant militant course in the past 27 years. Shortly after the founding of the republic, U.S. imperialism launched a war of aggression against it. Fighting staunchly and vigorously, the Korean people defeated the aggressor's armed attacks, defended the country's independence and security, safeguarded the fruits of the people's revolution, and won great victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, setting a brilliant example for the people of Asia and the rest of the world in the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause. Since the armistice, they have achieved tremendous success in socialist revolution and construction by adhering to the revolutionary line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, keeping to the socialist road and unfolding in a big way the Chollima movement through self-reliance and hard struggle. Holding high the banner of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, and working with high morale and untiring energy, they are now unfolding gigantic emulation drives, determined to fulfil the Six-Year National Economy Plan ahead of schedule so as to greet the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers' Party with brilliant successes.

The D.P.R.K. Government and the Korean people adhere to proletarian internationalism, firmly oppose imperialism and actively support the just struggles of

And if in future, always in the service of our country and her people, we recall these most uncommon years and months of our life, that will be done in order to draw still greater strength therefrom in the pursuit, together with our respected and beloved Chinese friends, of our common cause aimed, on the one hand, to continuously consolidate, develop and enhance Cambodian-Chinese friendship and, on the other hand, to contribute still more effectively to the success of the struggle of our third world against under-development and the forces of evil whose victim it still remains.

the oppressed nations and oppressed people, make great efforts to strengthen unity and co-operation with the people of all countries, particularly the third world countries, and play an increasingly big role in international affairs. Their international prestige rises day by day. Not long ago, President Kim Il Sung made goodwill visits to a number of African and European countries, making an important contribution to strengthening the Korean people's friendship with the people of various countries. At the recently concluded Fifth Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the D.P.R.K. was admitted as a member of the non-aligned movement. This is a significant victory for Korea on the diplomatic front.

The Chinese people rejoice at the fraternal Korean people's successes in various fields and sincerely wish them new and bigger successes in future struggles.

Reunifying their country at an early date is a strong national aspiration of the entire Korean people. For years, the Workers' Party and the Government of Korea have waged an indefatigable struggle and made a series of correct proposals and reasonable recommendations for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, particularly the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and the five-point programme to prevent a national split and to reunify the country put forth by President Kim Il Sung, which point out the correct way for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. These have won firm support from the entire Korean people and enjoy widespread sympathy and backing by the people of all countries. The recent proposal of Algeria, China and 33 other countries for including in the agenda of the 30th United Nations General Assembly the draft resolution On Creation of a Favourable Condition for Converting the Armistice Into a Durable Peace

(Continued on p. 20.)

## Speech by Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Li Chiang

*The Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the problems of development and international economic co-operation opened at U.N. Headquarters on September 1. Representatives of more than 130 U.N. member states, observers from some other countries and representatives of some liberation movements and international organizations attended. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of Algeria and President of the 29th Session of the General Assembly, who was elected President of the Special Session, made a speech at the opening ceremony.*

*The session was convened to discuss international trade, reform of the international monetary system and transfer of real resources for financing the development of developing countries, science and technology, industrialization, food and agriculture, and restructuring the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system.*

*The Delegation of the People's Republic of China, with Li Chiang, Minister of Foreign Trade, as Chairman and Huang Hua, China's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, as Vice-Chairman, attended the session.*

*Following is the full text of the speech by Li Chiang at the September 2 meeting. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**Mr. President,**

Since the last special session of the United Nations General Assembly, the international situation has undergone great changes increasingly favourable to the people of all countries. The anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle of the people of all countries, the third world countries in particular, is broadening and deepening in the political and economic spheres. It is of great significance that we are meeting here at this juncture in the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss the problems of development and international economic co-operation. We warmly greet the convocation of the seventh special session and hope that, on the basis of the triumphant achievements of the sixth special session, it will make a positive contribution to the independent development of national economy by the developing countries, and to the struggle against foreign exploitation, plunder and control and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The lawful rights in the United Nations of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia — the representative of the heroic Cambodian people — have at last been restored. This is a victory for the Cambodian people and for all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. It once again proves that no one can stem the tide of history. We extend our warmest congratulations and welcome to the delegation of the R.G.N.U.C. that has come to attend this session.

It must be pointed out here that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam are fully qualified, under the provisions of the United Nations Charter, to become members of the United Nations. Yet, during the recent discussions in the Security Council on their applications, a superpower arbitrarily vetoed their admission in disregard of the wishes of the great majority of states. This is most deplorable. This extremely unjust state of affairs should be promptly rectified.

### Current International Situation

The current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and the situation is excellent. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. On the one hand, the third world is rapidly awakening and has become the main force in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this great current of history is surging forward irresistibly. The splendid historic victories of the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples and the tremendous progress of the struggle of the people in southern Africa for national liberation are all convincing illustrations of this trend. On the other hand, the rivalry between the superpowers for world hegemony is becoming ever more acute and extending to every corner of the world. Europe is the focus of their contention. Although they have lauded "detente," "peace" and "security" to the skies and ostensibly concluded agreements of one sort or another, these are nothing but empty, deceptive verbiage. Actually they are intensifying their contention, aggravating tensions and speeding up their arms expansion and war preparations, thus causing greater intranquillity in Europe and other parts of the world. The intensifying contention between the superpowers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will. As

things stand now, there is no "irreversible process of detente" at all, but instead the growing danger of a new world war. The people of all countries must get prepared. However, whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in the end it is the increasingly awakening people of the world in their hundreds of millions, and not the one or two superpowers, that determine the destiny of mankind. In any case, the future of the world is bright.

At present, the capitalist world is in the grips of the most serious postwar economic crisis. Under these circumstances, the superpowers are stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, intensifying their scramble for spheres of influence, selfishly and unscrupulously shifting the economic crisis on to the numerous third world countries and even on to the second world countries in an endeavour to reinforce their exploitation and control of these countries. This profound crisis is sharpening the struggle on the international arena between exploitation and control on the one hand and resistance to exploitation and control on the other. It is stimulating a new upsurge in the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, particularly in the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle of the third world. This is another eloquent proof that the old international economic order built on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is declining, rotting and doomed to extinction.

Since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, the third world countries and peoples have carried on a massive struggle against imperialist and particularly superpower exploitation, plunder, control and shifting of economic crisis, against the moribund old order and for the establishment of a new international economic order, and they are winning great victories. Firmly defending the sovereignty over their national resources, many third world countries have taken resolute measures to tighten their control and supervision of transnational corporations and systematically nationalized foreign monopoly enterprises which manipulate their economic lifelines. In firm defiance of superpower threats, the oil-exporting countries of the third world have defended and developed the successes of their united struggle and are fighting in unity and in mutual support with other developing countries. Following the example set by the oil struggle, a number of new associations of raw material producers have been formed and are growing stronger in struggle. The various producers' associations of third world countries are playing an ever greater role in the struggle to defend their economic rights and interests and combat superpower monopoly and exploitation. At the same time, economic co-operation among developing countries is greatly expanding. The recent inauguration of the Economic Community of West African States gives expression to the common aspirations of the African people to develop the national economy through self-reliance, unity and mutual help and combat imperialist exploitation and plunder. From Africa to the Caribbean, from Latin America to Southeast Asia, developing coun-

tries are speedily promoting, consolidating and strengthening regional economic co-operation in one form or another.

The conference of developing countries on raw materials held in Dakar last February advanced a series of reasonable and important propositions relating to the third world's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle in the economic sphere and fully demonstrated the militant solidarity of the third world countries. It solemnly declared that "any measure of aggression, economic or otherwise, directed against any particular developing country shall meet with a united response from all the developing countries." The conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries which was just held in Lima and many other international conferences of third world countries have all played a positive and important role in forging closer unity, heightening morale and co-ordinating efforts in their common fight against imperialism and hegemonism.

The struggle of the third world countries and peoples has dealt a heavy blow at the wild ambition of the superpowers to seek world hegemony and given a powerful impetus to the steady advance of world history. Now, it is evident to everyone that the third world countries and peoples have stood up. The days are gone for ever when the superpowers could wilfully rule the fate of small, weak and poor nations.

There is a growing struggle on the part of the second world countries in between the superpowers and the third world to free themselves from the control, threats, bullying, exploitation and the shifting of economic crisis by one or the other superpower. More and more second world countries favour dialogue with the third world countries and are making efforts to establish co-operation with them. This positive attitude is to be welcomed. As is pointed out by many developing countries, such dialogue and co-operation, if they are to proceed successfully, must be based on the principles of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit. Contacts and exchanges of this nature are beneficial to both sides and have favourable prospects. The struggle of the second world countries against superpower control and exploitation and their tendency to establishing ties with third world countries are also exerting an important influence on the development of the international situation.

Facts show that the superpowers have become increasingly isolated and are beset with troubles both at home and abroad. In spite of all their efforts to sow discord, make trouble and carry out sabotage, they can in no way extricate themselves from their predicament. The third world peoples will steadily see through and frustrate superpower schemes and gradually attain their fighting goal of establishing a new international economic order and developing their national economy independently, so long as they strengthen their unity, unite with all the countries subjected to superpower bullying, control and exploitation, fear neither duress nor intim-



idation, refuse to be duped, dare to struggle and persist in struggle.

### **Essence of Problem of Development**

Mr. President,

The problem of development we now face is an important problem bearing on the endeavour of the numerous developing countries with a population of nearly 2,800 million to lift themselves from poverty and backwardness and develop their national economy independently. The people of Asian, African and Latin American countries are industrious and talented, and these countries cover vast territories and abound in natural resources. After independence, it is their eager desire to develop the national economy and build up their countries, and they have made arduous efforts towards this end. But why has this legitimate desire of theirs remained unfulfilled, and why are they still poor and backward? The developing countries have come to realize more and more clearly in the course of struggle that the oppression and exploitation imposed by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism are the root cause of their poverty and backwardness and constitute the greatest obstacle to the development of their national economy. At present, the problem of development is in essence a problem of combating imperialist and particularly superpower control, plunder and exploitation, thoroughly destroying the old international economic relations built thereon, establishing a new international economic order and clearing away the numerous obstacles on the road to the independent development of their national economy.

At the same time, we must take note of the fact that the two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors today and that they are the source of a new world war. To prepare for war, they are intensifying their scramble for sources of energy and raw materials, places of strategic importance, outlets for their investment and markets for their commodities, establishing and expanding their spheres of influence all over the world and stepping up their plunder and control of the third world. Therefore, the sustained struggle of the third world countries against superpower plunder and control and for the establishment of a new international economic order is not only essential to the development of their own national economy, but also important for combating the arms expansion and war preparations of the superpowers, preventing them from launching a war of aggression, and for defending world peace.

One superpower tries stubbornly to preserve the old order and opposes the establishment of a new order so as to maintain its hegemonic position and vested interests in the international economic field. It loudly asserts that "the present international economic system has served the world well." But the truth is that it is exactly this system which enables the superpowers to exploit the developing countries and amass great for-

tures. And it is exactly under this system that the sovereignty of developing countries is encroached upon, their resources are ravaged, their people exploited and the gap between the rich and the poor countries is being widened. Is it not clear whom the system "has served well"? To oppose the associations of raw material exporting countries of the third world, this superpower also advocates "automatic adjustment through the free market." This is sheer fallacy. What predominates in international markets today is the monopoly exercised by imperialism and its transnational corporations, so how can there be any so-called "automatic adjustment through the free market"? In essence, this argument is calculated to preserve that superpower's "freedom" to control and exploit the third world and keep the developing countries for ever in the plight of being controlled and plundered.

The other superpower which claims to be a "socialist" country is energetically pushing its policy of plunder and exploitation on a global scale. In what it describes as its own "family," this superpower resorts to high-handed measures to enforce what it calls "economic integration" and "international ownership," depriving other member countries of their sovereign rights and ruthlessly exploiting and plundering them. Moreover, under the signboard of "non-discrimination," it tries hard to contend with the other superpower in the economic field for spheres of influence in Europe. Above all, it should be pointed out that this superpower is energetically pushing neo-colonialism in the third world under the cloak of a "natural ally" of the developing countries. In the name of "aid," it practises usury, outrageously dumps outmoded equipment and loots the raw materials and other industrial and agricultural products of the developing countries. It even uses "aid" as an opportunity for securing various special privileges and obtaining strategic bases. What is even more vicious, it takes advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts. It buys cheap and sells dear, reaping fabulous profits through speculative transactions. It sets up "joint-stock enterprises" for the export of capital. Selling munitions on an ever bigger scale, it has become a super-merchant of death. This fully shows that this superpower in the guise of a "friend" is more greedy, insidious and unscrupulous than old-line imperialism.

In recent years, it has been particularly active in selling to the third world the idea of "international division of labour." Lauding the neo-colonialism it enforces in its own "family" as a model of such a "division of labour," it calls on the third world countries to join in "gradually" and "by stages" "international division of labour"! To put it bluntly, its aim is to bring the many third world countries under its social-imperialist system of exploitation and subject them to its wilful manipulation, extortion and exploitation.

As a cover-up for its pursuance of hegemonism, this superpower has vociferously preached such fallacies as "development depends on detente" and "funds saved

from disarmament can be used to aid developing countries." Its so-called "detente" is actually a camouflage for more intense contention, and its so-called "disarmament" is actually the constant intensification of its arms expansion and war preparations with the wealth extorted from the developing countries. Its aim is none other than to hoodwink the people of the third world and induce them to give up their struggle against imperialism and hegemonism and for the establishment of a new international economic order and pin their hopes for developing their national economy on the superpower hoax of "disarmament" and "detente." It is calculated to divert the attention of the people and lead astray the just struggle of the third world. The doings of this superpower fully reveal the fact that it is double-faced and hypocritical. It professes to support the establishment of a new international economic order, but is actually engaged in obstruction and sabotage and fishes in troubled waters. It is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

What calls for special attention is that this superpower, taking advantage of its rival's decline and loss of initiative, is stepping up its aggression, infiltration and expansion in the third world and actively extending its social-imperialist system of exploitation. It stretches its tentacles everywhere and tries to squeeze in wherever possible. It is becoming more and more evident that in quite a number of places, no sooner has one imperialism been compelled to withdraw than the other imperialism under the banner of "socialism" seizes the opportunity to squeeze its way in. In the current struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, we developing countries must especially guard against the danger of "letting the tiger in through the back door" while "repulsing the wolf through the front gate."

### **Fundamental Principles: Independence and Self-Reliance**

Mr. President,

We developing countries have become keenly aware from our own experience that independence and self-reliance are the fundamental principles for developing the national economy, shaking off poverty and backwardness and attaining complete political and economic independence.

To be independent and self-reliant, the developing countries must first of all smash the heavy fetters imposed on them and free themselves from imperialist and particularly superpower exploitation and control, while at the same time eliminating the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist forces at home so as to create the necessary conditions for the development of national economy.

By self-reliance, we mean that a country should mainly rely on the strength and wisdom of its own people, control its own economic lifelines, make full use of its own resources, work hard, increase production, practise economy and develop its national economy step by step and in a planned way. Each country should make

a distinction between different circumstances and determine its own way of practising self-reliance in the light of its specific conditions. Many developing countries have followed the road of self-reliance in conformity with their own characteristics and conditions and, after making sustained efforts and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, they have achieved gratifying successes in developing their national industry and agriculture, striving for self-sufficiency in foodgrain, developing communications and transport and training their own scientific, technical and managerial personnel. Facts show that it is entirely feasible for the developing countries to develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly.

We have learnt from our own experience that in the course of developing the national economy independently and self-reliantly, it is essential to correctly handle the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. In the light of her own conditions, China has formulated a general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy and made her national economic plans according to this order of priorities: agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Priority is given to the development of agriculture to solve the people's food problem, supply industry with raw materials and a market and accumulate funds for it. It must be stressed that if a country is not basically sufficient in foodgrain but has to rely on imports, it may be taken by the neck at any time and find itself in a very passive and dangerous position. In developing industry, we have adopted the policy of putting emphasis on small enterprises while combining small, medium and big enterprises, and based ourselves on domestic needs and capabilities, relied on our own resources, built up our industries from scratch and expanded them step by step.

Self-reliance in no way implies "self-seclusion" or rejection of external assistance, but means relying mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary. Experience has shown that in the development of the national economy it is both beneficial and necessary for countries to carry on economic and technical exchanges on the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods, thus making up for each other's deficiencies and learning from each other.

Mutual assistance and economic co-operation among developing countries are especially important. We are all developing countries, and we understand best each other's difficulties and needs, so we should support and help each other. Such co-operation is based on genuine equality and has broad prospects.

It should be pointed out that the third world countries' self-reliant development of the national economy by no means implies that the developed countries may shirk the responsibilities they should discharge. To destroy the old international economic relations and

establish a new international economic order, the developing countries demand that the developed countries should make and honour explicit commitments in such matters as international trade, finance and currency, shipping, the transfer of technology and aid. These demands are entirely justifiable.

### China's Position

Mr. President,

China is a developing socialist country. We Chinese people shared the same historical experience with the people of other developing countries, and are now facing together with them the same historical task of combating imperialism and hegemonism and building our countries. We have always stood together with the other third world countries and peoples, sharing each other's weal and woe. We resolutely support the third world countries in their struggle to transform the present extremely inequitable international economic relations, establish a new international economic order and combat imperialist and particularly superpower exploitation, plunder, control and shifting of economic crisis. We energetically support the just positions and reasonable proposals of the third world countries regarding international trade, finance and currency, industrialization, science and technology and other matters.

We hold that economic as well as political relations between states should be based on the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. All countries, big or small, rich or poor, should be equal. International economic affairs should be jointly administered by all countries of the world, instead of being monopolized by the one or two superpowers.

We are of the view that the affairs of each country should be managed by its own people. The developing countries and their people have the full right to defend their political and economic independence, protect their national resources and develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly. We support the right of the developing countries to bring all foreign capital, and particularly transnational corporations, under their control, supervision and management, up to and including nationalization.

We maintain that international trade should be based on equality, mutual benefit and the exchange of needed goods. We support the developing countries in establishing various associations of raw material exporting countries for a united struggle against exploitation and monopoly. We support them in intensifying and extending their struggle in the field of raw materials trade by such means as the integrated programme for commodities. We support their demand for a fair and equitable link between the prices of their export com-

modities and those of their imported commodities from the developed countries and for the indexation of prices. We support their reasonable demands to improve trade terms for their raw materials, primary products, semi-manufactured and manufactured goods, expand their markets, fix equitable and favourable prices and increase their export earnings.

We maintain that major issues concerning international monetary affairs and the question of reforming the international monetary system should be settled jointly by all countries through consultation on an equal footing. We support the demand of the developing countries for the right to take a full and effective part in decision-making on monetary affairs, and we are resolutely against the practice of a few big countries and particularly the superpowers making unilateral decisions in disregard of the interests of the numerous developing countries. In reforming the international monetary system, the interests of the developing countries should be taken into full consideration and such reform should be conducive to the development of their national economy.

We hold that economic aid to the developing countries must strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries and must not be accompanied by any political or military conditions and the demand for any special privileges. Such economic aid must be aimed at helping the recipient countries to develop their national economy independently and self-reliantly and not at reducing them to dependence. Loans to developing countries should be interest-free or low-interest. Delayed interest payment and amortization, or even reduction and cancellation of debts should be allowed in case of necessity. It is absolutely impermissible to take advantage of others' difficulties to press for the repayment of debts and practise extortion. We are opposed to infiltration and control under the guise of aid.

We hold that technology transferred to the developing countries must be practical, efficacious, economical and convenient for use. All unreasonable restrictions and obstacles imposed by developed countries on the transfer of technology to developing countries must be removed. The experts and other personnel dispatched to the recipient countries have the duty to pass on technical know-how to the people there conscientiously and unreservedly and respect the laws and national customs of the countries concerned. They must not demand privileges and special amenities, let alone engage in illegal activities.

We hold that the fundamental way for the developing countries to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrain is to develop agriculture and increase food production independently and self-reliantly. Furthermore, the solution of the food problem in the developing countries must be closely linked with the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and with the current struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order. We are opposed to the superpower

practice of monopolizing the grain trade and using it as a means for interference and the control and plunder of other countries. We are opposed to the superpower practice of selfishly stirring up troubles to upset the international grain market, thereby creating difficulties for developing countries.

We hold that it is entirely proper and reasonable for the developing countries to demand a restructuring of the economic sectors of the U.N. system to meet the needs of establishing a new international economic order. We support this demand. The economic sectors of the United Nations should be restructured through consultations and serious discussions on an equal footing so that the numerous developing countries may enjoy full rights therein. Manipulation by the one or two superpowers must be ended.

## **Revolution in Education**

# **"July 21" Workers' Colleges**

by Our Correspondent Wen Chiao

**J**ULY 21" workers' colleges are newborn socialist things that have appeared in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

These colleges were pioneered by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant which originally was a small enterprise with simple equipment. Since liberation in 1949 it has gradually developed into a large plant producing precision grinding machines, and in the course of revolution and production a group of worker-technicians has emerged. These worker-technicians have a relatively high level of consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle, and in their advance to master science and techniques they have scorned personal fame and gain and not been fearful of danger or difficulties. Long years of work have enabled them to accumulate a rich fund of practical experience. After several years of studying in spare-time technical classes in which they closely linked theory with practice, they very quickly were able to engage in scientific research and handle designing tasks independently. What took place in this plant was written up as a report of an investigation entitled "The Road for Training Engineering and Technical Personnel Indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant."\*

The publication of this report was accompanied by Chairman Mao's directive of July 21, 1968, in

Mr. President,

The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the U.N. General Assembly at its sixth special session have laid down a series of correct principles for the establishment of a new international economic order. Our task now is to continue to uphold and conscientiously implement these principles. We believe that so long as the third world countries close their ranks, unite with all the forces that can be united with and wage a common struggle, they will certainly win new and greater victories in the struggle to destroy the old international economic relations, establish a new international economic order, safeguard their independence and sovereignty and develop their national economy. The Chinese delegation is ready to join others in the efforts for the achievement of positive results at this session.

which he pointed out: "It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study." Along with Chairman Mao's other directives concerning revolution in education, this directive is an important component of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and is also a militant programme for carrying out the proletarian revolution in education.

In studying Chairman Mao's directive, the workers and staff of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant got a profound education and were greatly encouraged. Under the leadership of the plant's Party committee, a workers' college was set up in September of that same year. Because they were acting in the spirit of the July 21 directive of Chairman Mao, the school was named the "July 21" Workers' College.

Following this, many "July 21" workers' colleges were established by factories and mining enterprises throughout the country. Spurred on especially by this year's movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, workers' colleges have been develop-

\*Published in *Peking Review*, No. 31, 1968.



ing very rapidly. There now are hundreds of thousands of workers studying in such colleges.

### Colleges in the Factories

Before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line dominated the field of education and Chairman Mao's series of directives concerning revolution in education were basically not carried out. These included the directives that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour" and that everyone who receives an education should "become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." This hereditary realm of the bourgeoisie thus continued to be dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. To change this situation, the Party organized workers' propaganda teams in the Cultural Revolution to move into the schools and colleges and take part in and lead the revolution in education there.

Factories running their own colleges facilitate the exercise of working-class leadership in the revolution in education and workers' participation in it, promote integrating education with productive labour and help make the schools and colleges instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The workers' colleges are set up in the factories and the students, who come from the workers, have good political quality. But as China is presently in the socialist period, having just emerged from the womb of the old society, it is in every respect still stamped with the birth marks of that society, class struggle is continually reflected within the ranks of the working class, and old traditional concepts and force of habit continually erode the ranks of the working class. Consequently, workers' colleges too must put proletarian politics in command, learn class struggle as the main subject and put transforming the students' ideology above all else. Apart from studying their specialities, students in these

colleges must also study politics, military affairs and agriculture, criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and do productive labour so that they retain the good characteristics of the working class.

According to the demands of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, workers' colleges set up their various specialities. There are different industrial specialities as well as the liberal arts and medicine. As agriculture is the foundation of our national economy, many of these colleges also have "support-agriculture" courses in order to better make industry serve agriculture.

In accordance with the principle of linking theory with practice, teaching is done through designing and making typical products at workers' colleges. Based on their practice in designing and producing, students sum up their experience, raise their knowledge to the level of theory and then, guided by theory, carry out production in practice and deepen their understanding of theory. The students say: "This helps us understand what we are learning and use what we have learnt."

Teachers are veteran workers and technicians, most of whom still work at their own posts when not teaching. Drawn up according to requirements, the teaching material is edited and written together by teachers, veteran workers and technicians.

Workers' colleges take many forms. Some are full time, some part work and part study, others spare-time colleges with classes in the evenings and on Sundays. Some courses last two to three years; others are a matter of months. On the whole, spare-time study is the rule. All the above-mentioned forms are found in many workers' colleges.

Trimmed of all frills, the colleges are run in the spirit of self-reliance, hard struggle and diligence and thrift. Some use workshops and workers' canteens for classrooms and the factory machinery and instruments to teach with.

The 10,000-h.p. diesel engines made by the Shanghai Kiangnan Shipyard are the heart of the 10,000-ton vessels the yard makes. The workers' college there has set up a 10,000-h.p. engine speciality. The 28 students in it together with the veteran workers who produce the engines make up a teaching and learning collective that engages in both production and scientific research. The experienced veteran workers are simultaneously production workers and teachers. The students study one and a half days and work four and a half days a week. After completing the two-year course in this speciality, the students will be competent technicians since they will have studied theory and taken part in building three or more 10,000-h.p. engines and will have learnt to



Instructor uses lathe to teach machine tool theory.

produce, install and repair such engines, work out their technical processes and design their component parts.

When there was a shortage of medical workers in a southwest region where a new railway line was being built, the on-site hospital set up a medical class under a workers' college. Classes took place in a simple makeshift at the work-site and medical workers were trained. People said: "We too can afford to run such colleges." Thus branches of the workers' college sprang up along the entire length of the new line to give courses on railway construction.

### **Building a Vast Contingent of Working-Class Intellectuals**

Chairman Mao has pointed out that in order to build socialism, the working class must have its own body of technical cadres and its own ranks of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists. This will have to be a vast contingent since having only a few people will not do. Until such a huge new body of working-class intellectuals has been built up, the revolutionary cause of the working class will not be completely consolidated.

Workers' colleges are needed to create a vast body of working-class intellectuals and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. China's socialist cause has developed speedily since liberation. Comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is to be accomplished before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world. Though our country's contingent of technicians has grown quickly, it still does not meet the requirements by a long way. A vast contingent of working-class intellectuals has to be created. A revolution in education has taken place in our colleges and universities and they are now training large numbers of workers with socialist consciousness and culture to expand the ranks of the technicians. This is one major avenue. The other is arousing and bringing into full play the initiative of industrial and mining enterprises to set up workers' colleges.

Graduates of workers' colleges return to production and actively take part in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Many have joined the ranks of those studying Marxist theory. They are fighters implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticizing the bourgeoisie and combating revisionism. Yang Pen-jen, a graduate of the workers' college run by a machinery plant in Shenyang, was assigned to the plant's designing division after he had finished his studies in the college. He discovered that the leadership of this division had not completely got rid of the revisionist poison of "technique in command," and that workers who had been assigned to it during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were about to be shoved out and the designing division was about to be put back under the domination of intellectuals. Yang

Pen-jen and other rank-and-file members of the division put up a big-character poster criticizing the division leadership's erroneous tendency and helped it heighten its consciousness of the two-line struggle and correct its error. This brought about a new look in the division.

Graduates of the liberal arts at the workers' college run by the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Works delivered explanatory reports to the workers and staff of the workshops and wrote articles criticizing revisionism. They did these in close co-ordination with their theoretical study. To counter the ideas of retrogression and restoration, they wrote a medium-length novel around this theme. To counter-attack some people who were slandering the revolutionary youth, these graduates wrote a collection of well-received short stories praising the young generation who grew up in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Workers' college graduates are also the backbone force in production technology and scientific research. In recent years more than 50 relatively important items of new product designs and technical innovations in the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant were done mainly by the first group of graduates from its workers' college or with their participation. These include some new products of advanced levels and a number of them are needed in China's scientific and technical development but have not been made before.

Among the first graduates from this workers' college, Shen Kuan-sung only had a junior middle-school education. He was a bench worker in the electrical equipment shop for ten years before entering for three years of study in the college. After graduating he was assigned to the plant's grinding machine research institute to experiment on electrical equipment. Taking part in designing a numerically controlled cam grinding machine, he contributed to designing the main circuit. This was China's first numerically controlled grinder, an item the country badly needed. The work was difficult because it required advanced designing technique. With other comrades taking part in the designing and trial production, he discussed and experimented and brought the collective's wisdom into play to overcome one difficulty after another. After a year's effort it was successfully trial-produced and the machine is now in production.

The Shanghai People's Radio Factory once was a toy factory. The educational level of the workers there was not high. It began producing transistor radios in 1969, and in 1971, with the aid of teachers and students of colleges and universities, began turning out television sets. The biggest headache then was lack of technical personnel. On the basis of widespread spare-time studies, the factory set up a workers' college where electronics was taught six hours a week over a period of 18 months. Today one out of five workers in this factory has been through the course or is studying there. With technical levels higher, production has gone up



Shen Kuan-sung (left).

rapidly. Output of TV sets in recent years has gone up 65-fold and costs have gone down by 80 per cent.

### Narrowing Differences Between Mental and Manual Labour

Students in workers' colleges are enrolled from among the workers and most go back to their jobs as workers. However, these workers no longer are the same workers purely doing manual labour, but ones with technical and general knowledge who do physical and mental labour. Shih Wen-han, a veteran moulder in the mould-casting workshop of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant never attended school before liberation. Before then he worked as a landlord's hired hand for 18 years. Relying on his experience and using the knowledge he acquired in his off-work hours after liberation, he worked with his co-workers to introduce some devices which made work lighter as the job they were doing was heavy, laborious manual work. But the problem was not completely solved. When the plant set up a workers' college Shih, who was already 50, eagerly enrolled.

After studying hard and completing the course, he returned to his work of shaking out the moulding boxes and removing the castings. He worked as usual while taking part in a technical innovation team made up of veteran workers, cadres and technicians to improve working conditions and efficiency in this job. A simple, practical and economical suggestion of his led to mechanization of this work after six months of intensive group work. Work became enormously lighter and efficiency was doubled.

Workers' college graduates assigned to technical positions after graduation according to the needs keep up their practice of never divorcing themselves from

manual labour. Veteran foundry worker Na Chung-ling of the Talien Acid-Resistant Pump Plant was sent to head a technical group after finishing a workers' college. He believes that good technical work cannot be done if it is divorced from manual labour and that it holds back technicians from remoulding their ideology. Because he led the technicians to work in the workshops and they did their designing together with the workers, technical work was done well.

The separation of mental and manual labour is a product of class society founded on private ownership of the means of production. In the long history of class society the exploiting classes monopolized education and culture and the exploited classes were deprived of their right to get an education and enjoy a cultural life. This led to the grave confrontation between mental and manual

labour in which "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed."

After the exploiting classes were overthrown in the post-liberation days, intellectuals who had worked for the exploiting classes turned to serving the people and are taking the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. The antagonism between mental and manual labour has changed, but there are still differences. The concept of bourgeois right reflecting these differences still poisons the minds of some people who regard their knowledge as a commodity, look down on the working people and demand preferential treatment. Workers' colleges are enabling more and more workers to master intellectual work and this helps to gradually narrow the differences between mental and manual labour and is conducive to the gradual elimination of the soil that engenders new bourgeois elements.

### Consolidating Proletariat's Leadership in Technology

The Talien No. 2 Machine Tools Plant in Liaoning Province was the result of merging 18 privately owned enterprises after the socialist transformation. Technique at one stage was in the hands of bourgeois "experts" because there were no worker-technicians. Workers repeatedly suggested technical innovations but these proposals were ignored by such "experts." As a result, production stagnated. In 1969 this plant set up a workers' college giving courses in machine building, foundry work and other specialties. More than 200 workers have graduated from the college since then. Some graduates have returned to production and others have gone to take up technical posts at workshop and plant levels, gradually taking over the technical leadership in the plant and transforming it. As a result,

production has risen nearly fourfold. The workers say: "We now have a say in technical matters besides being the masters politically."

The emergence of more and more technicians of worker origin and working-class domination in the technical field have pushed forward the ideological remoulding of the original technicians and has promoted intellectuals to integrate themselves with the working people. Tsao Wan-chien, a technician in the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant's grinding machine research institute, is a 1956 university graduate in machine building. In those days the university was dominated by the revisionist line in education. She also had studied in a graduate school abroad and received the academic degree of *kandidat* (M.A.). She had acquired a lot of book knowledge and was very proud, looking down on the masses of workers and peasants. She believed it was natural for workers to do the bidding of the engineers, "engineers use their mouths, workers their hands." The emergence of worker-technicians came somewhat as a shock to her. With the help and care of the Party organization, she went to work in the workshops to be re-educated by the working class.

Once while she was assembling a machine tool the main shaft would not fit. She could not find the fault, no matter how hard she tried, but veteran workers spotted it immediately. Again there was the time when she was putting in a bearing. When she already had it in place she kept hammering. "Stop hammering it! It's already in place!" a veteran worker at a distance told her. She was surprised. How had he known it

was already in place? On asking, she learnt that he could tell by the sound.

Many similar incidents made her realize the truth that, in a sense, the fighters with the most practical experience are the wisest and the most capable. She got off her high horse and seriously learnt from the workers and began changing her way of thinking. Together with workers she initiated some small technical innovations which made work lighter and improved efficiency. These were well received by the workers. As she saw it in the past, such things were "valueless in writing a thesis," and were "not up to international standards" and so were not worth doing. Later, after she was transferred to do technical work in the plant, she continually visited the workshops to work and seek the views of workers on technical matters. Not long ago, aided and supported by the workers, she introduced a new technique which made a large bearing for China's first grinding machine to process large rollers that was being manufactured at the workshop.

Workers' colleges are of tremendous and far-reaching significance in getting greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, building up a vast contingent of working-class intellectuals, narrowing the differences between mental and manual labour, smashing the technical monopoly by the bourgeoisie, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. As these new colleges develop, their superiority will become more and more evident and their role grow greater and greater.

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(Continued from p. 10.)

in Korea and Accelerating the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea, enjoys the approval and support of many countries. The Government of the D.P.R.K. issued a statement fully supporting this draft resolution on the Korean question. On the contrary, the south Korean Pak Jung Hi puppet clique, with the support and connivance of U.S. imperialism, has incessantly trampled upon the joint statement of north and south Korea, stepped up its "two Koreas" scheme, intensified its fascist suppression of the south Korean people and aggravated tension on the Korean Peninsula in an attempt to perpetuate the division of the country. But Korea's independent and peaceful reunification is a general trend that has popular support and no reactionary force whatsoever can stop it.

The Chinese people firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference. The so-called United Nations Command must be dissolved and U.S. troops must totally withdraw from south Korea. We are

firmly convinced that the 3,000-ri beautiful land of Korea will surely be reunified and there will be a reunion of kith and kin in north and south Korea.

China and Korea are close neighbours linked by the same rivers and mountains. The peoples of the two countries are comrades-in-arms and brothers, going through thick and thin together; they are of the same family. The friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples is founded and fostered personally by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people. It is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, cemented in blood and unbreakable. The historic visit by the Korean Party and Government Delegation led by President Kim Il Sung to China last spring greatly inspired the Chinese people and brought the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties and two peoples of China and Korea to a new stage. As before, the Chinese people will continue to follow their great leader Chairman Mao's teachings and unite, fight and win victory together with the fraternal Korean people for ever.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 9)



# A Worker After Graduating College

by Wu Chi-chou

I JOINED the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant as a worker in 1952 and later became head of the repair group in the No. 2 workshop. Acting according to Chairman Mao's instruction "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers" issued on July 21, 1968, our plant in September that year set up a new-type socialist college—the "July 21" Workers' College. My request for admission was recommended by the masses and approved by the leadership. We graduated on July 21, 1971. Since then I've been back working in the repair group.

## An Important Measure

The separation of physical labour from mental labour is a product of private ownership. The antithesis between them embodies class antagonism.

By raising labour productivity and promoting mankind's cultural development, the division of physical and mental labour in society has played a certain progressive role in history. But it must be recognized that this division over the last several thousand years has led to man's crippled development. It "converts the labourer into a crippled monstrosity" and the individual himself "is made the automatic motor of a fractional operation." The intellectuals are also made subject to "stunted growth due to their narrow specialized education and their being chained for life to this specialized activity." (Engels: *Anti-Duhring*.) Engels long ago foresaw a different society in the future when he pointed out: "The existence of classes originated in the division of labour, and the division of labour as it has been known up to the present will completely disappear." (*Principles of Communism*.)

China carried out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production after liberation. As a result, the serious opposition that existed in the old society between physical and mental labour has taken a fundamental turn for the better. The intellectuals have since switched from serving the landlord and capitalist classes to serving the people. With the deepen-

ing of the socialist revolution, the intellectuals have continuously raised their consciousness of remoulding their world outlook. Most are able to integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers and become intellectuals welcomed by them. However, the difference between mental and physical labour remains. We still tacitly recognize the "unequal . . . productive capacity of the worker as natural privileges." (Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.) Bourgeois right reflecting this difference still exists. It must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The emergence of schools in the past further separated physical from mental labour. A small number of people went to school while the majority, toiling the whole year, were deprived of any schooling. Chairman Mao's instruction that the proletariat should run education was basically not implemented before the start of the Great Cultural Revolution because Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line was pushed in education. Following the example of bourgeois schools, colleges at that time instilled in students such bourgeois ideas as "he who excels in learning can be an official" and "study in order to become an official," thereby enlarging the difference between mental and physical labour.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions, our workers' college enrolls students from among the workers who, after studying for a few years, will return to their production posts. This is an important measure for reducing the difference between mental and physical labour and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Therefore, I was determined to go back to my production post and continue being a worker after graduating from the workers' college.

## Rupture With Traditional Ideas

A college graduate becoming a worker is something new. As this is a challenge to traditional ideas, there is bound to be obstructions. Before finishing my college studies, I was working on the general designing of a big cylindrical grinding machine in our plant's grinding machine research institute. One of the comrades asked me: "How about working as a technician in our institute after you graduate?" "I'd like to be a

The author is among the first group of graduates of the "July 21" Workers' College of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant.

worker in a workshop," I replied. Surprised at my answer, that comrade immediately rejoined: "That's rather unusual. You don't want to work in the institute?" "That's it," I told him without hesitation, "if that's unusual. I want to return to my production post as a worker after graduation."

I remember that shortly after my enrolment in the college, veteran workers in our group told me again and again that I must never forget that I was a worker. They were very pleased and gave me a big welcome when I returned to our group after finishing my studies. But there were a few who were puzzled. "You have practical experience and you've studied well in the college," said one of them. "Why do you insist on coming back to swing a hammer? People like you should be a leading cadre or a technician at least!" He said that he "regretted" my decision.

There is a famous statement in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." To become a worker after graduation from college, I understand, is a revolution involving a radical rupture with traditional ideas. That some comrades should feel "puzzled" by my action and that they "regretted" my decision reflected such traditional ideas. So I explained to them the bright future of factory-run colleges. I told them that we should follow Chairman Mao's "July 21" instruction and build a magnificent contingent of working-class intellectuals with socialist culture and technical knowledge and adept in production. This will gradually reduce the differences between workers and technicians and between physical and mental labour. My explanation brought them round and they wholeheartedly supported my returning to the workshop. This also enhanced my determination to be a worker.

### All-Round Development

Prior to studying in the college, we repair workers often made spare parts but were unable to draw blueprints. What we did was to wash the parts clean and take them to the technical section which helped us produce the needed blueprints. At that time we all thought how wonderful it would be if we workers could draw the blueprints and take part in technical designing.

Having graduated from the workers' college and mastered some technical and general knowledge, I do technical designing and work on technical innovations,

apart from taking part in labour. In repairing an old radial drilling machine, a veteran worker once found that all of a cogwheel's teeth were worn out. A new wheel had to be produced because there were no spares. As there was no blueprint available. I did the necessary measurements and calculations and drew a blueprint by making use of what I had learnt.

One midnight a worker rushed over to my dormitory and asked me to go and see what was wrong with the big surface grinding machine he operated. In the past I was only an assistant in repairing this kind of big complicated equipment. Now they wanted me to do the repair job, which showed their confidence in a worker college-graduate. With the help of the grinding machine worker and a crane operator, I found the cause of the trouble and immediately made the necessary repairs to put the machine back into operation.

Since I am a Communist and head of a repair group, my task is not only to take care of technical work but do political and ideological work among people and grasp production management as well. There was a time when oil leaked from some pieces of our workshop's equipment, causing much waste and bringing on conflicting views among repairmen, oilers and operators. In this situation, I started examining an old turret lathe which had a serious oil leak and found the trouble to be the nut at an oil tube connection. Screwing the nut or changing it with a new one could stop the leakage.

It looked like a technical problem but was actually an ideological question — the lack of a conscientious and responsible spirit. I put a bowl under the leak and in less than four hours there was about a quarter-kilogramme of oil in the bowl. We held a meeting on the spot and calculated how much oil would be wasted in a month and in a year. The figure startled us. If all the machine tools in our workshop leaked, the figure would be shocking. This was an education to all the workers. "Only when we plug up the loopholes in our minds," they declared, "can we stop the leaks in the machine tools." From then on we have all paid close attention to oil leakages.

I come from a poor peasant family. I was exploited and oppressed by capitalists after becoming an apprentice at 15. The Party and Chairman Mao emancipated me and gave me a chance to study in a workers' college, and helped me raise my consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and learn science and techniques. I am determined to become a worker with socialist consciousness and culture and contribute my share to the socialist revolution and construction and to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# China's Tax Policy

by Wei Min

**T**AXATION in socialist China has nothing in common with what it was in old China. This is because the system of ownership has changed with public ownership of the means of production replacing private ownership, exploitation has been done away with and the labouring people have become masters of society. No longer a means by which the exploiting classes oppress and fleece the labouring people, taxation is a source of accumulating funds for socialist construction and helps consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are eight kinds of taxes in China: Industrial and commercial consolidated tax on production of industrial goods, purchases of farm produce, imports of foreign goods, retail sales, transport and communications and service trades undertaken by units or individuals; industrial and commercial income tax on profits by industrial and commercial enterprises not under the ownership by the whole people; agricultural tax on units and individuals engaged in farm production with income derived from it; customs duties; tax on salt production; tax on slaughterhouses; tax on real estate in the cities; and license fees for vehicles and ships.

What are the characteristics of China's taxation?

## Facilitate Economic Development

As far back as 1934, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To increase our revenue by developing the economy is a basic principle of our financial policy." (*Our Economic Policy*.) In summing up the economic and financial problems in the anti-Japanese war, he instructed in 1942 that "even in difficult times we must take care to set a limit to taxation" and that "as soon as we can, we should lighten the burdens [on the people]." (*Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War*.)

Since the founding of New China, we have continued to act upon Chairman Mao's instructions on lightening the people's burden and worked out a tax policy in their interest so that it facilitates the development of production and promotes socialist construction.

Accumulation by state enterprises constitutes the main part of China's revenue and they also pay the bulk of the taxes. The burgeoning national economy in the last 26 years has laid a solid and reliable foundation for the state to accumulate construction funds. The petroleum industry, for instance, has registered a 7.5-fold increase in production in the last ten years, while accumulation by the state through collecting taxes from this industry has gone up 5.8 times accordingly. With the socialist economy steadily growing in strength, more than 99 per cent of the nation's total amount of taxes are paid by state enterprises and that sector of the economy under collective ownership by the working people.

Our tax policy embodies the principle that taxation should help economic development. In collecting the industrial and commercial consolidated tax, the state makes it a point to spur production by reduction or exemption of the tax and by taxing low in accordance with the production and accumulation levels of industrial products. For example, the tax charged on pig iron, copper, chemical fertilizers, machinery and other means of production is at a low rate; steel billets and ingots are tax-free; taxes on grain, grey cloth, briquettes and other daily necessities are low and cigarettes, wines and spirits, cosmetics and some other consumer goods high. To help all trades support agriculture, diesel oil, fertilizers, insecticides, semi-mechanized farm implements and six other products sold for use in farm production are tax-free, in addition to a low tax rate on farm machinery and its attachments, farm implements and their accessories.

The state sets different rates of industrial and commercial income tax for different industrial and commercial enterprises under collective ownership according to their position and role in the national economy. The principle followed in this respect is that the tax burden on industry is lighter than on commerce and that on enterprises run by rural people's communes and production brigades mainly in the service of farm production and peasants' livelihood are lighter than on enterprises run collectively by urban inhabitants catering mainly to industry and the people's livelihood in cities and towns. In the case of small chemical fertilizer, in-

secticide and farm machinery repair factories run by communes and brigades, the tax is very low or non-existent. There is no tax on bean-curd, oil-pressing and other manually operated mills processing farm produce to meet the needs of commune members. This makes it possible for the collective economy to set aside a certain amount of accumulation for the development of production and at the same time increase commune members' personal income on the basis of production growth.

### From the People, for the People

A salient feature of China's taxation is that taxes collected from the people are used for their benefit.

In countries under the rule of the exploiting classes, "taxes are the source of life for the bureaucracy, the army, the priests and the court." (Marx: *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.) Taxes then were like a deadweight on the labouring people and the greatest part of the money taken in was used for keeping an army to suppress the people and maintaining the bureaucratic ruling setup. Thus for the labouring people, taxation was synonymous with catastrophe and was aptly described by Marx and Engels when they said that the introduction of each new tax made the situation of the proletariat even worse, while the abolition of any old tax would bring no increases in wages but greater profits.

Taxes in old China were collected from the people by reactionaries who used them for their own benefit. In the 22 years from 1927 to 1949, a handful of bureaucrats and compradors amassed great fortunes worth some 15,000 tons of gold by robbing the people through exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies, corruption and graft and many other vile means, yet they never did anything of use for the people. They made a big fanfare about building a railway from Chengtu to Chungking for a good 40 years, but not a single kilometre of this much-vaunted 504-kilometre-long line was completed, though they collected huge amounts of money through levies, exactions and donations in the name of the project. The railway, however, was built a few years after liberation.

Taxation in New China is in the interests of the people. In line with the principle "Develop the economy and ensure supplies" (Mao Tsetung: *Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War*), taxes are collected from the people and used for their benefit. Taxes taken in by the state are spent on developing production and improving the people's material and cultural life through state expenditures.

The state has invested in building 1,100 big and medium-sized projects in the last ten years. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began, for instance, dozens of big and medium-sized hydro-power stations have been completed and put into operation and

numerous small ones have sprung up in 29 provinces, municipalities directly under the central authorities and autonomous regions. The big and medium-sized stations built on tributaries of the Yangtze River alone come to more than 20, with a total capacity of over 2.9 million kilowatts.

To support farm production, the state allocates a large amount of funds to the countryside every year for building water conservancy projects, soil amelioration, tree planting, breeding fine seed strains and farm mechanization. Such funds allocated by the state in the last ten years were 80 per cent more than the agricultural tax it collected in the same period. In addition, the state also issues huge amounts of agricultural loans through banks and credit co-operatives every year. State banks issued 51 per cent more agricultural loans last year than in 1964 and the interest rate on such loans has been reduced on five occasions.

Simultaneous with large-scale development of production and construction, the state has steadily increased its outlay for cultural, educational, health and welfare undertakings for the people.

### Unified Tax System

From the day the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies imposed during the Kuomintang reactionary rule have been abolished and a unified tax system has been introduced throughout the country. Since then, the tax policy and system have been readjusted from time to time in the light of economic development and changes in different periods.

Taxation is handled in a unified way. The state decides on the taxes to be levied, their rates and methods of collection, while local governments at various levels can only work out some concrete methods of collection and management according to the unified policy defined by the state, or take certain measures for tax-reduction or exemption as specific conditions require and within the scope authorized by the central authorities. However, local governments have no right whatsoever to levy any new taxes other than those specified by the state, nor are they allowed to apportion any levies from the people.

It was a different story in old China under reactionary rule. In those dark days, taxes and levies were too numerous to list. With bureaucrats and warlords feathering their own nests and landlords, the despotic gentry and tax officials working hand in glove with one another, they imposed taxes and levies at will. To the taxes were added countless surtaxes together with exactions under various subterfuges. Statistics show that there were as many as 1,756 different taxes and levies in areas under Kuomintang rule in the 1930s. In 1934 the land tax in Szechuan Province was collected in advance up to 1985. The land tax alone in the 1940s was



more than half the then total farm output. The imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist exploitation system coupled with such a tax policy which was like draining a pond to catch all the fish resulted in daily decline of production and gradual disintegration of the economy. Unable to pay the taxes, workers and peasants were forced to leave their native places and even sell their children, a phenomenon not uncommon over the land.

### No Tax Rise With Increased Farm Production

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. While developing industry, heavy industry in particular, our country has always attached prime importance to the growth of farm production. This being the case, one of the important measures for ensuring agricultural development lies in enforcing a correct tax policy and a correct price policy for farm and industrial products.

Our agricultural tax policy is to keep the peasants' burden stable and not to increase the tax when production goes up. The total agricultural tax levied in the country as a whole remains unchanged for a certain period of time after it is fixed according to the principle of "taking account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) That is to say, the increased portion of farm production is kept by the related production teams of people's communes to enlarge public accumulation, develop the collective economy and increase members' income.

Farm production has made great headway in the last 25 years, but the state now collects less from the agricultural tax than in early post-liberation days. The state even adjusted and reduced the tax by one-third in 1965. Especially in the last dozen years, the relative tax burden on production teams has gradually been lightened in view of the fact that grain production has increased by a wide margin thanks to successive years of rich harvests. The nation's total agricultural tax accounted for 12 per cent of actual farm output in 1952 and it now has dropped to only 5 per cent.

The tax paid by each production team is calculated on the basis of its yields in a normal year assessed according to the natural conditions of the land and local farming conditions. Once fixed, this norm remains unchanged for a certain period of time. In recent years, high-yield units whose per-hectare output of grain far surpassed the targets set by the state have emerged in greater numbers as a result of changes in production conditions and cultivating systems, but they still pay the same previously fixed amount of agricultural tax.

In addition, there are many stipulations for preferential treatment in methods of taxation so as to boost

production. For example, income from newly reclaimed wasteland is tax-exempt for a few years, units hit by natural disasters are taxed at a reduced rate or exempt from tax depending on the severity of a calamity. For areas inhabited by national minorities and mountainous areas with low yields, specific methods of tax-reduction and -exemption are worked out on top of a generally low tax rate.

### No Personal Income Tax

Personal income tax is a direct burden on the people and a main source of state revenue in the capitalist world. U.S. government figures show that the personal income tax collected in 1974 amounted to 118,000 million U.S. dollars, accounting for 43.7 per cent of total budgetary revenue (*The Budget of the U.S. Government*, fiscal year 1975). For instance, in addition to paying the federal government income tax of 14 to 17 per cent of their annual income, U.S. industrial workers with average earnings have to pay state income taxes. These plus other taxes come to nearly one-third of their wages. This is indeed a heavy burden on the labouring people.

Likewise, taxation in the social-imperialist Soviet Union also follows a policy of exploiting and squeezing the people. Not only has it greatly increased the income tax on collective farms, but it also has increased the exploitation of workers and peasants in the form of a residence tax. According to official data released by the Soviet revisionists, the 1974 residence tax nearly tripled that of 1960. In 1973 such a tax paid by each worker's family averaged the equivalent of more than 31 per cent of its income. (Quoted from the Soviet finance minister's report on state budget and from the *Yearbook of the National Economic Statistics in the Soviet Union*, 1973.)

There has never been any personal income tax in New China. No tax whatsoever is levied on the wages of workers, cadres and intellectuals or on the pay of people's commune members based on work-points and distributed collectively and their income from small plots for their personal needs and household side-line production. All their income as such is at their own disposal.

What concerns the working masses regarding taxation are only license fees for vehicles and boats. In Peking, for instance, people with bicycles are required to pay 2.2 yuan a year, equivalent to seven kilogrammes of rice.

Money value and prices in China have long remained stable, workers and staff members have gradually received more and more pay and there is an increasing number of jobholders. What with no tax on personal income, the people's purchasing power and living standards have continued to improve.

# "Materialization of Relaxation" Means Intensifying War Preparations

by Mei Ou

THE ballyhoo by Brezhnev about the "materialization of relaxation" at the Helsinki summit "conference on European security" on July 31 immediately set Moscow's propaganda machine in motion. Lauded to the skies, this slogan was described as the essence of all factors for peace in Europe and the immediate programme of present Soviet foreign policy.

Suppose this is the case, let's look at what the Soviet revisionists have been doing to "materialize" relaxation.

Brezhnev said that "uppermost in our mind" for the "materialization of relaxation" was "the task of ending the arms race" and achieving "disarmament," that is, "supplementing the political detente by military detente." All this drivel in fact is meant to deceive people. For many years, the Kremlin rulers have been chanting the theme of "disarmament," but there has been no cut whatsoever either in their troop strength or in their military spending. Their deeds are just the opposite of their words. While shouting about "detente," "disarmament" and the "ending of the arms race," they have indulged in an all-round and fierce rivalry with the other superpower for supremacy—from underground to the air and from the land to the oceans. To realize their goal of world domination, they have pursued a "guns instead of butter" policy and the pace of their arms expansion is now running far ahead of that of the United States. As public opinion in the West has pointed out, Moscow's "reconciled tactics for negotiations obviously serve its firm strategy for armaments," and it has "achieved a mission of military superiority" "under the guise of detente." No wonder the Soviet revisionists could not conceal their glee over the gains in the arms race, openly declaring that they are "on a historic offensive along the entire front of global confrontation" and their advance is "rapid." Isn't this the best indication of Brezhnev's true intention when he called "materialization of relaxation" the task "uppermost in our mind"?

"Disarmament," "peace" and "detente" are on the lips of Brezhnev and his cronies nearly every day, but their arms drive, war preparations and threats

have never let up. One of the "concrete steps" the Soviet Union has taken to "materialize relaxation" after the "European security conference," which it called "a major milestone," is to have the conference principles "strike root and get them translated into action." Now let's look at its actions.

While Brezhnev was talking about "peace, security, and co-operation in various fields" at the forum of the "European security conference," the Soviet fishing fleet ignored the decisions of the Canadian Government and intruded deep into the waters off the coast of Canada as it had done before.

Hardly had the ink of Brezhnev's signature on the "Final Act" of the Helsinki conference had time to dry when Soviet helicopters flagrantly violated Norway's sovereignty by flying over the Spitsbergen Islands to carry out unlawful activities. Interfering in the internal affairs of Iceland, the Soviet Union, on the pretext of "being concerned" with its fishing interests in Icelandic waters, blatantly lodged a "formal note of protest" with the Icelandic Government against the latter's extension of its fishing area. Exploiting the upheavals in Southern Europe, the Soviet Union has also intensified its rivalry with the United States for domination of this area, fostering pro-Soviet forces and poking its nose into the internal affairs of Portugal.

The Soviet Union has accelerated its armaments expansion since the "European security conference." It conducted an underground nuclear test on August 6, the fifth this year. It also is speeding up building nuclear-powered C class tactical missile submarines. Whereas it built three a year in the past, the present rate is two a month.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has committed much evil in a short space of time. The haste with which it urges "implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual benefit and co-operation in daily, practical affairs" and "accelerating the materialization of relaxation" is motivated by its eagerness to violate the sovereignty of other countries, menace their security

and speed up the arms race. In a word, "materialization of relaxation" means nothing but concrete efforts to intensify preparations for war.

Brezhnev's call for the "materialization of relaxation" at the Helsinki conference clearly is a trap. The

aim is not to realize genuine detente. It is a ruse used by the Soviet revisionists to deceive world opinion, throw dust in the eyes of the European people, disintegrate the unity and defence of the European countries and cover Soviet arms expansion and ambition to dominate Europe with empty talk about peace.

## Neutral European Countries Vigilant Against Soviet Menace

AS the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States for domination of Europe intensifies, particularly since the former's rate of arms expansion and war preparations is increasing, a number of neutral countries in Europe are sharpening their vigilance against the "Polar Bear" menace and taking steps to strengthen their national defence.

Austria, Sweden and Switzerland have over long years pinned their hopes for avoiding involvement in a new war on the big powers' respect for their neutrality. But the grim reality of the Soviet Union deploying several million troops equipped with the most up-to-date offensive weapons in Europe and relentlessly infiltrating and expanding has shattered the illusion that "all is quiet on the Western front" and awakened many people from their dream of maintaining peace by neutrality. Some papers in Austria and Switzerland bluntly pointed out not long ago that the Europeans "are not living on a blissful island" where they can enjoy everlasting peace, and "neutrality itself is not a guarantee of security."

To dispel the false sense of security still felt by some people in their countries, military and government leaders of Sweden, Switzerland and Austria recently stressed the need to strengthen their defence forces to cope with the Soviet military threat. Stig Synnergren, Supreme Commander of the Swedish Armed Forces, has noted on several occasions this year that the massive Soviet military buildup in the Arctic and the Baltic Sea constitutes a grave threat to the security of Sweden and other North European countries. He stressed that so long as the big powers are preparing for war, the small countries must also arm themselves lest they should be swallowed up in one gulp overnight.

Speaking at the Helsinki summit "conference on European security" on July 30, President of the Swiss Confederation Pierre Graber pointed out that small European countries have been constantly subjected to

the "pressure of the biggest powers," and European security "is incompatible with the beefing-up of military potential on our continent." Therefore, he said, it was still imperative for Switzerland to maintain a "national defence capable of meeting the challenge of a modern war."

Austrian Minister of Defence Karl Luetgendorf said in a speech last year that the Soviet plan for an attack on Austria and other countries, as revealed by the Austrian magazine *Profile*, was "credible" and "must be taken seriously."

In Austria, the heartland of Europe threatened by military confrontation between the two superpowers, the public has been repeatedly warned in the last few years that Austria must mobilize all its citizens for defence in order "to resist by every means" and defeat the invaders' plans. Since Austria is sandwiched between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, said Commander of the Federal Army Emil Spannocchi not long ago, it must possess a standing army capable of quick response. Austria, he said, should strengthen its armed forces, both in manpower and equipment, to guarantee its security.

Last March, the Austrian Government decided that the principle of overall strengthening of national defence and universal compulsory military service be included in the Constitution. Last November, the Austrian armed forces held their biggest military manoeuvres since 1955 to test their ability to counter-attack mechanized invaders.

Adjacent to the Soviet Union, neutral Sweden in Northern Europe has introduced universal compulsory military service so that its regular army of less than 100,000 men can be speedily increased to over 700,000 in the event of the outbreak of a war. Sweden is also building extensive underground defence works. The headquarters of the three services and some of the munition and fuel depots as well as factories, power plants, hospitals have already been constructed underground. Nearly all military aircraft have been placed in underground installations. They can take off from underground runways to intercept intruders. Naval vessels also are being gradually moved into well-sheltered bases.

Switzerland, whose permanent neutrality was proclaimed as early as 1815, is also upgrading its defence capabilities. Rudolf Gnaegi, Head of the Federal Military Department, has called for a policy of "total defences." All male Swiss citizens from 20 to 50 years old are now required to undergo military training at regular intervals every year so that at least 600,000 civilians can be mobilized in case of enemy invasion. The Swiss Government also has plans to wage mountain warfare against aggressors by relying on the topographical features of the Alps in the south. Measures have also been taken to renovate artillery equipment, improve

anti-tank capability, strengthen the air force and increase oil stockpiles.

Both Switzerland and Sweden have been building air raid shelters for civil use.

The fact that these neutral countries are all strengthening their national defence indicates that increasing numbers of people in Europe, instead of allowing themselves to be deluded by the Brezhnev clique's "detente" lullaby, are increasingly on the alert against the "Polar Bear" threat, and are making preparations to defend themselves.

## Despicable Anti-China Performance

THE Soviet authorities staged a despicable anti-China performance by publishing a report on September 4 which stood truth on its head.

The report said that on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the defeat of militarist Japan and the termination of World War II, the Soviet Veterans Committee wanted to send a delegation to China to lay wreaths at the monuments to the fallen heroes of the Soviet Army, but this request had met with a "rude refusal" by the Chinese authorities. The report also alleged that China showed "no respect" for the fallen Soviet heroes.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry on August 29 replied in a verbal statement to the Soviet authorities concerning sending a delegation to China to lay wreaths at the monuments to the fallen heroes of the Soviet Army. But, with a guilty conscience, the Soviet authorities dared not make public to the Soviet people the truth of the matter.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry statement said: "The Chinese Government and people have always respected and never forgotten the fallen heroes of the Soviet Red Army who died in China in the war that defeated Japanese fascism. To express the Chinese people's respect for the fallen heroes of the Soviet Red Army and to commemorate the fraternal friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples cemented in the anti-fascist war, the Chinese quarters concerned have laid wreaths at the graves, monuments and obelisks for the fallen heroes of the Soviet Red Army in China every year. They will carry out similar activities on September 3, the 30th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

"In the old days of Sino-Soviet friendship, activities commemorating the fallen heroes of the Soviet Red Army in China had been the joint undertaking of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. However, since the Soviet authorities started to pursue anti-China policies, this bond of friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples has been broken.

"Engrossed in a rabid anti-China campaign, the Soviet authorities have massed and deployed their troops on the Sino-Soviet borders and continuously sent numerous spies to China through various channels to engage in subversive activities and sabotage. Under the circumstances, it is evident today that it is impossible for the Chinese quarters to receive a delegation sent by the Soviet authorities. To put it bluntly, the Soviet authorities merely want to take advantage of the occasion to create pretexts for their anti-China manoeuvres and incite the Soviet people against China. The Soviet authorities have been doing this for years. But we firmly believe that the Soviet people will not be deceived by it."

It is worth noting that the Soviet authorities, while telling China about sending a delegation of the Veterans Committee, had the chairman of this committee, Senior General P.I. Batov, go in for frenzied anti-China activities and abuse the Chinese people's role in the great War of Resistance Against Japan.

The despicable performance by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique once again reveals its vile design of even using the heroes of the Soviet Red Army who died in the anti-fascist war to serve its anti-China policies.

(Hsinhua News Agency, September 7)

Peking Review, No. 37



# ROUND THE WORLD

LIMA

## Foreign Ministers' Conference Of Non-Aligned Countries

The Fifth Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries took place from August 25 to 30 in Lima, the Peruvian capital. More than 600 people attended, including delegates from 81 member states of the non-aligned movement and organizations, observers from more than 20 countries and national-liberation organizations as well as a number of invitees. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Panama and the Palestine Liberation Organization were admitted as new members at the conference; El Salvador and Grenada were accepted as observers and Romania, the Philippines and five other countries as invitees.

The conference discussed the international political and economic situation and examined the fighting tasks facing the non-aligned countries and the strategy that should be taken. Delegates of various countries at the conference expressed the determination to combat imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Many emphatically pointed out that while defending their political independence and state sovereignty, the developing countries should also strive for economic independence and the preservation of their national resources. They also expressed the determination of the numerous developing countries to shatter the old international economic order, strengthen unity and cooperation and struggle for peace and security and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Two main documents were adopted: the Lima Programme for Mutual As-

sistance and Solidarity and the Strategy to Strengthen the Unity and Solidarity of the Non-Aligned Countries and to Establish the New International Economic Order. The conference also adopted a number of political resolutions on the Middle East, Palestine, the Indian Ocean peace zone and South Africa. Four economic resolutions passed by the conference are: On the Establishment of a Fund of Solidarity for the Economic and Social Development of the Non-Aligned Countries, On the Establishment of a Council of Associations of Developing Countries Producing and Exporting Raw Materials, On the Establishment of a Fund of Solidarity for the Reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam and On the Establishment of a Special Fund to Finance a Buffer Stock of Raw Materials and Products Exported by the Developing Countries.

Peruvian Foreign Minister Miguel Angel De La Flor, chairman of the conference, delivered the closing speech on August 30. He pointed out that the conference represented an important step by the non-aligned movement in the march towards its objectives. He said the non-aligned countries have emerged from this conference stronger, more powerful and more united. They have come to realize their own strength and the role and capability of the policy of non-alignment as an instrument for creating new international relations, he added.

The Peruvian Foreign Minister noted that holding this conference in Latin America is significant. "This is a continent entirely in ferment where the people are no longer willing to reconcile themselves to the past. Our fundamental aim is to combat imperialism and enslavement and to win our rights, safeguard our

riches and have our sovereignty respected," he declared.

A proposal by Sri Lanka for convening a meeting of heads of state of the non-aligned countries on August 16-19, 1976 was adopted at the conference.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Fight to the Finish

**Namibia.** The South West African People's Organization office in Dar-es-Salaam on August 25 issued a press release rejecting the South African racist regime's scheme for a "constitutional conference" and reiterating the determination to fight to the finish.

The press release was issued to mark the ninth anniversary of the armed struggle in Namibia.

It condemned the South African racist regime for its outrages against leaders of the South West African People's Organization and their supporters. The racist regime "has also tried to cover up her crimes by empty professions of friendship for free Africa. Her deceptive political slogans have been fully exposed and the means to achieve them totally rejected by free Africa," the release said.

On the results of the armed struggle, it noted that the Namibian guerrilla forces have made attacks on the enemy this year in the north, northwestern and northeastern parts of the country. In the last three months, they have killed over 200 South African soldiers and captured many others.

It pointed out that in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism, the Namibian people have won broad international support.

**Azania.** In an article in its recent issue, *Mayibuye*, organ of the African National Congress of South Africa, denounced the Vorster racist regime's detente fraud.

The article said that "some months ago, Vorster made his well publicized speech in which he asked to be given six months to bring about dramatic changes inside South Africa. Weeks and months have gone by but there is no evidence of these 'dramatic changes.'"

The article stated: "The real intentions of the racist regime are not to be found in speeches of Vorster but in actions of the [South African] government." "Let us take a look at the 1975-76 budget presented by the minister of finance to the Cape Town parliament in March. The major item was defence expenditure which went up to a whopping 948 million rand, about 3 million per day," the article added.

It said that South Africa's real intention is to continue oppressing and subjugating the black majority, and to pose a constant threat to the independent African states. Its imperialist role, the article stressed, has already been demonstrated by the illegal stationing of its forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The article concluded by saying that "such is the meaning of detente, South African style" and "it is a dec-

laration of war against the people of Africa."

"CLARTE ET L'EXPLOITE" (BELGIUM)

### Against the Common Enemy

An article in the recent issue of the Belgian journal *Clarte et L'Exploite* has pointed out that the intensified contention for hegemony between the Soviet Union and the United States will inevitably lead to a war. It stressed that Europe should unite with the third world countries to fight against the two superpowers.

Entitled "Proletarian Revolution and Practice of the United Front," the article said: "There is no detente but permanent confrontation between the two superpowers struggling for world domination. Lenin pointed out there will be imperialist wars as long as there is imperialism. The intensified contention between the two imperialist rivals will inevitably lead to a third world war."

It went on to say: "Even a declining imperialist power can do much evil, to say nothing of a rising imperialist power trying to gain hegemony and redivide the world in its own interests; that power speaks the

language of force. This is the case of Russian social-imperialism today. It is not that American imperialism has become more humane and reasonable. Far from it. It is simply that it has suffered unforgettable defeats and is wallowing in inextricable difficulties. It is an imperialism on the decline. Russian social-imperialism is a rising imperialism. It is frantically rearming itself; it is spearheading an essential part of its armed forces against Western Europe." "Russian social-imperialism is now the principal danger to the peoples of Europe," it noted.

The article called on the European peoples and their countries to unite among themselves and with the peoples and countries of the third world in the struggle against the two superpowers. It pointed out that in the process of strengthening the union among European countries and West European countries' union with the third world countries, it is necessary to fight against any tendencies in Western Europe towards colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation of the third world, and against monopoly capital taking advantage of the union to increase its exploitation of the labouring people.

(Continued from p. 6.)

other in our common revolutionary struggle."

"The Chinese people," he added, "set great store by their friendship with the Vietnamese people. We hold that further consolidating and strengthening the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, two countries, two peoples of China and Viet Nam on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is in line with the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and Viet Nam and is their common aspiration.

"As always, the Chinese people will continue to do their utmost to contribute to the consolidation and development of the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples."

### Three Special Amnesty Releasees Return to Peking

Special amnesty releasees Chang Hai-shang, Yang Nan-tsun and Chao Yi-hsueh were compelled to return temporarily to the mainland of our country from Hong Kong, because their desire to return to Taiwan Province to rejoin their families and friends was not gratified due to obstruction by the Chiang clique. They arrived in Peking by air on the evening of September 3 and were given a warm welcome at the airport by Li Chin-teh, leading member of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and others.

In the afternoon of the following day, the United Front Work Department held a forum to welcome them.

Speaking at the forum, Li Chin-teh said: When the ten special amnesty releasees left of their own

accord for Taiwan Province last April, we called a meeting to give them a send-off and provided them with adequate travel expenses and facilities in line with the instruction of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Now we are meeting here to welcome them upon their return. We will make appropriate arrangements for their work and livelihood. They can still go to Taiwan Province in the future when the conditions are made available.

Chang Hai-shang, Yang Nan-tsun and Chao Yi-hsueh also spoke at the forum, expressing great dissatisfaction over the Chiang clique's unreasonable obstruction and repeated stalling tactics and deception.

The forum was followed by a dinner hosted by the United Front Work Department.

## ON THE HOME FRONT

### **P.L.A. Officers Serve as Rank-and-File Soldiers**

**L**EADING members and office cadres at battalion or higher levels of the Peking Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have been going to companies to serve as rank-and-file soldiers or take up company posts for a period of time. With fresh revolutionary vigour, they learn modestly from the ordinary fighters while making investigations and study. This has strengthened the revolutionary unity between officers and men. All the units present a scene of surging enthusiasm.

Those who have participated include corps, division and regimental commanders and political commissars. Among them are veterans of the Red Army and the Eighth Route Army who followed Chairman Mao in battles across the country, combat heroes who performed meritorious services in the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression

and Aid Korea, and new cadres promoted in recent years.

According to statistics, more than 7,100 cadres went to companies to serve as soldiers or company cadres in the first half of this year. Over 1,400 of them are cadres of regimental or higher levels.

In the upsurge of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a regiment of the Peking Units carried forward our army's glorious tradition of unity between officers and men and of cadres serving as soldiers or working in the companies. Its experience aroused strong response in all the other units. Cadres of the Peking Units studied once again Chairman Mao's important instructions on cadres going to the companies to serve as rank-and-file soldiers or company cadres. At the same time, they deeply criticized such fallacies as "officials are high, the people are low" and "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid" spread

by Lin Biao to undermine our army's glorious tradition of unity between officers and men. They realized more deeply that cadres serving as ordinary soldiers and taking up company posts is one of the things that embody elements of communism. It is an important measure for breaking down the idea of bourgeois right, combating and preventing revisionism, strengthening army building and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is one of our army's fundamental systems.

The cadres going to companies are very strict with themselves in all respects. Sung Jui-yun, deputy political commissar of an artillery regiment, was assigned to take up a post in a nearby company by its Party committee in view of his advanced age and declining strength, but he preferred to serve as a soldier in a company where conditions were much harder so that he could temper himself better. Carrying his own luggage, he walked 105 kilometres to the company, though his regiment had made three offers to send him there by car.

The political commissar of a corps served as a cook in a company. At first the soldiers there addressed him according to his position. But after a while, seeing him with others in his work clothes tending the fire, washing rice or cooking, they began to laugh and talk together with him as equals and soon everyone felt at ease. A corps commander while serving as company commander maintained close links with the rank-and-file soldiers and held heart-to-heart talks with them, helping them solve their ideological problems and overcome difficulties. Whenever there was a film, he would volunteer to stand sentry so that others could go. He often helped with mess work on holidays and became a close friend of the soldiers.

Cadres of the Peking Units going to stay in companies for a period regard studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship as a most important matter which strengthens army building in a fundamental way. They have frequently helped cadres and the rank and file to analyse how the company's theoretical studies are going along and solve problems that may crop up.

Cadres going to companies and cadres and fighters of the grass-roots units have summed up the experiences gained by a number of companies during their study of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, providing timely study guidance for all the Peking Units. As a result, many army units accomplished their plan for training, construction, production and barracks-building for the first half of this year ahead of schedule.



While serving as a soldier, a cadre takes part in military training.

Just Off the Press

# LU HSUN

GREAT REVOLUTIONARY, THINKER AND WRITER

(In English)



This 15-folio-page serial of paintings on offset colour plates briefly sketches the glorious and militant life of the communist fighter Lu Hsun.

Lu Hsun, who had profound proletarian feelings for the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, studied Marxism-Leninism diligently and consciously accepted the leadership of the proletariat. With dauntless fighting spirit in the days of the Kuomintang reactionaries' white terror, Lu Hsun waged

the firmest and most thoroughgoing struggle against them and against the counter-revolutionary double-dealers who had wormed their way into the ranks of the revolutionaries.

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